

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ANKARA 01120 111142Z

71

ACTION DLOS-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-11 ACDA-05 AGR-05 AID-05

CEA-01 CEQ-01 CG-00 CIAE-00 CIEP-01 OFA-01 COME-00

DODE-00 DOTE-00 EB-07 EPA-01 ERDA-05 FMC-01 TRSE-00

H-02 INR-07 INT-05 JUSE-00 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 NSF-01

OES-03 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAL-01 FEA-01 EA-07 /126 W

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R 110743Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2402

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION USNATO

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 1120

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU

SUBJ: MFA REACTION TO AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS

REF: A. ANKARA 1062 DTG 090840Z FEB 76, B. ATHENS 1195 (NOTAL)

DTG 061738Z FEB 76 C. ATHENS 1120 (NOTAL) DTG 051512Z FEB 76

1. ON FEBRUARY 9, EMBOFF DISCUSSED THE RECENT GREEK-

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PAGE 02 ANKARA 01120 111142Z

TURKISH AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS WITH MFA INTER-

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS AEGEAN CHIEF RIZA TURMEN. TURMEN, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE BERN TALKS, EXPRESSED MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT THE DISCUSSIONS. HE COUNTED AS POSITIVE: (A) THAT THE TALKS HAD NOT BROKEN DOWN DESPITE GREAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESENTATIONS OF BOTH SIDES, AND (B) THAT GREEK CHAIRMAN TZOUNIS, ALTHOUGH WANTING A SECOND MEETING FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF PREPARING A COMPROMISE, HAD AGREED TO A FURTHER MEETING "WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS." ON THE OTHER HAND, TURMEN WAS DISCOURAGED BY THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE MATTER AND BY THE "EXTREME AND INFLEXIBLE" POSITION THE GREEKS HAD TAKEN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF.

2. BASING THEIR ARGUMENTS ON ARTICLE 1B OF THE 1958 GENEVA AGREEMENT, THE GREEKS, HE SAID, HAD ASSERTED THAT ISLANDS POSSESS THEIR OWN CONTINENTAL SHELVES. THE GREEK SIDE PRODUCED MAPS THAT, IN EFFECT, DENIED TURKEY ANY CONTINENTAL SHELF EXCEPT THAT UNDER ITS OWN TERRITORIAL WATERS. HE STATED THAT THIS "EXTREME" POSITION, FROM WHICH THERE WAS NO DEVIATION IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS, CAST "SERIOUS DOUBTS" ON THE INTENTIONS OF THE GREEK SIDE. THE TURKS SUSPECTED THAT THE GREEKS HAD MAINTAINED THIS INFLEXIBLE POSITION IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE AN INCOMPATIBILITY IN THE TWO POSITIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF INSISTING ON PREPARATION OF A COMPROMISE FOR SUBMISSION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ). ON THE FINAL DAY OF THE TALKS, TZOUNIS MADE SUCH A REQUEST, BUT FINALLY HAD AGREED TO THE TURKISH THESIS THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY AND THEN RESPOND TO THE OTHER'S PRESENTATION.

3. UNSURPRISINGLY, TURMEN FELT THAT THE TURKISH PROPOSALS HAD BEEN QUITE FLEXIBLE:

(A) THE TURKS CALLED FOR A MUTUAL AGREEMENT THAT THE "TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO" BE GUARANTEED. IN THE TURKISH VIEW, NO AGREEMENT, EITHER BILATERAL OR AS A RESULT OF AN ICJ DECISION, WOULD BE MEANINGFUL IF SUBSEQUENT UNILATERAL ACTION DOUBLED TERRITORIAL SEAS FROM SIX MILES TO TWELVE MILES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ANKARA 01120 111142Z

(B) PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DELINEATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF, THE GOT WANTED TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE NATURE OF THE SHELF. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE TURKISH SIDE ADVANCED ITS ARGUMENT ON THE "NATURAL PROLONGATION" OF THE ANATOLIAN LANDMASS. THE TURKISH CASE WAS JURICALLY BASED ON THE 1969 ICJ NORTHSEA DECISION AND WAS PHYSICALLY BASED ON THE GEOLOGICAL AND GEOMORPHOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE SEABED.

(C) AS A PRELUDE TO A DISCUSSION OF THE SHELF, THE TURKISH SIDE SUGGESTED A DEFINITION OF THE AEGEAN. TURMEN STATED THAT IT HAD BEEN THE TURKISH EXPECTATION THAT THIS WOULD BE A SIMPLE MATTER AND WOULD BUILD UP AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENCE THAT BOTH SIDES WERE NEGOTIATING IN GOOD FAITH. HE CITED AS THE INSPIRATION FOR THE TURKISH PROPOSAL A RECENT CONFERENCE ON MEDITERRANEAN POLLUTION AT WHICH A DEFINITION OF THE "MEDITERRANEAN" HAD BEEN THE INITIAL SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. TURKEY HAD HOPED TO DELIMIT THE AREA TO BE DISCUSSED BY DEFINING THE AEGEAN (E.G., IS CRETE IN THE AEGEAN?). TURMEN EXPRESSED SOME BEWILDERMENT AT THE GREEK REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL.

4. HE WAS PLEASED THAT THE GREEK SIDE HAD NOT REJECTED THE IDEA OF JOINT EXPLOITATION OF THE SEABED. HOWEVER, HE STATED, THE TWO POSITIONS REMAINED FAR APART. THE GREEKS INSISTED THAT EXPLOITATION COULD OCCUR ONLY AFTER AGREEMENT ON DELINEATION. FURTHER, THEY HAD ARGUED THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES DID NOT POSSESS SUFFICIENT AVAILABLE CAPITAL TO FINANCE EXPLOITATION EFFORTS. BY CONTRAST, TURMEN SAID, THE TURKISH SIDE HAD ATTEMPTED TO CONVEY THE IDEA THAT JOINT EXPLOITATION COULD EITHER COMPLEMENT OR SUPPLANT DELINEATION. THE TURKS BELIEVED THAT SOME AREAS WOULD BE EASIER TO DELINEATE THAN OTHERS, E.G. OFF THE COAST OF THRACE WHERE THE TWO STATES WERE ADJACENT. IN AREAS WHERE AGREEMENT ON DELINEATION WOULD BE DIFFICULT, AGREEMENT ON JOINT EXPLOITATION WOULD OBTAIN THE NEED FOR DELINEATION. HE CITED A SIMILAR SEABED DISPUTE BETWEEN JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA WHICH HAD BEEN RESOLVED BY A COMBINATION OF DEMARCATION AND JOINT

EXPLOITATION. FURTHER, HE FELT THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN ATTRACTING PRIVATE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ANKARA 01120 111142Z

CAPITAL FOR INVESTMENT IN EXPLOITATION ACTIVITIES.

5. ACCORDING TO TURMEN, THERE WAS A POLITICAL NECESSITY TO RESOLVE THE SEABED DISPUTE SINCE IT CONSTITUTED THE MOST DANGEROUS PROBLEM IN GOT-GOG RELATIONS. HE SAID THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE HAD BEEN SIGNED TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND TO BRING PEACE. HOWEVER, THE CONCEPT OF CONTINENTAL SHELVES WAS UNKNOWN AT THE TIME; THEREFORE, AN AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE WAS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO ARRIVED AT IN LAUSANNE.

6. TURMEN CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT REAL NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT YET BEGUN. FOR THIS REASON THE TURKISH SIDE REJECTED TZOUNIS' REQUEST TO BEGIN PREPARATION OF A

COMPROMISE. THE 1969 NORTH SEA DECISION STATED THAT EACH SIDE MUST ENGAGE IN GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH MEANT MORE THAN SIMPLE STATEMENTS OF RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. TURMEN SAID THE ICJ DECISION REQUIRED A "SINCERE EFFORT" TO COMPROMISE; THE GOT WAS PREPARED TO MAKE THE ATTEMPT AND HE EXPRESSED SOME OPTIMISM THAT THE GOG WOULD RESPOND IN KIND AT THE NEXT SESSION (WHICH HE ANTICIPATED WOULD

OCCUR WITHIN ONE TO TWO MONTHS). THE SETTING OF DATE AND VENUE, HE SAID, WOULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

7. COMMENT: (A) WHILE WE BELIEVE THE GOT WANTS A RESOLUTION OF THE SHELF DISPUTE, IT IS NOT CURRENTLY A "FRONT BURNER" ISSUE AND THE GOT IS NOT IN A GREAT HURRY TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS. DY PRIMARY CONCERNS OF THE GOT ARE TWO-FOLD: (1) A DEFINITIVE GREEK COMMITMENT TO A SIX-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA AND (2) A SHARE IN WHATEVER RICHES THE AEGEAN SEABED MAY POSSESS. TURKISH FLEXIBILITY EXISTS, BUT ONLY ON THE SECOND POINT. AS THE TURKS HAVE POINTED OUT MORE THAN ONCE, AN EXTENSION OF GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS TO TWELVE MILES IS CASUS BELLI. NEITHER WILL TURKEY FORSWEAR ALL CLAIMS TO THE EXPLOITATION OF THE SEABED, BUT IN EXCHANGE FOR SOMETHING APPROACHING AN IRON-CLAD GUARANTEE OF A SIX-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA, WE SUSPECT THEY WILL SETTLE FOR CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN THE SLIGHTLY MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE AEGEAN SEABED WHICH  
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 ANKARA 01120 111142Z

THEY CLAIM IS ON "THEIR" CONTINENTAL SHELF.

(B) THE GOT ALSO BELIEVES IT HAS A STRONG CASE FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ICJ ONE ELEMENT IN THIS BELIEF, ASIDE FROM JURIDICAL PRECEDENT (THE 1969 NORTH SEA CASE), IS AN ASSUMPTION THAT THE ICJ IS NOT OBLIVIOUS TO POLITICAL REALITIES. THE GREEK PRESENTATION AT BERN, WHILE DISCOURAGING TO TURKISH HOPES FOR A BILATERAL AGREEMENT, SEEMED TO HAVE EVOKED A PERVERSE PLEASURE IN TURMEN, WHO EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT SUCH AN "EXTREME" POSITION WOULD ONLY BENEFIT TURKEY IN WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND AT THE ICJ.

(C) TURKEY IS CONTINUING WITH ITS PLANS FOR EXPLORATION OF THE AEGEAN. WE HAVE RELIABLE REPORTS THAT A PETROLEUM RESEARCH VESSEL, ALTHOUGH NOT FITTED FOR DRILLING, IS PRESENTLY UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND IS SCHEDULED FOR COMPLETION IN APPROXIMATELY FOUR MONTHS. ASKED ABOUT THE SHIP, TURMEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOT HAD PLANS FOR FURTHER AEGEAN RESEARCH, BUT STATED THE GOT WAS NOT RPT NOT INTERESTED IN CONFRONTATION PER SE. THE GOT, AS IT HAD STATED IN ITS BERN PRESENTATION, WAS INTERESTED IN REACHING ACCOMMODATION WITH GREECE AND

THE COURSE OF GOT AEGEAN EFFORTS WOULD BE DICTATED BY THE  
PROGRESS OF THAT EFFORT.  
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## Message Attributes

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